

A TRUE DECLARATION

OF THE

Intollerable wrongs done to
RICHARD BOOTHBY,

Merchant of India, by two lewd servants

to the honorable East India Company,

Richard Wylde, and George Page.

As also a Remonstrance of the partiall, ingratefull and
unjust proceeds of the India Court at home, against
the said RICHARD BOOTHBY.

In vindication of his good name (never yet justly stained) yet
now of late for certain years had in unjust scandall and defa-
mation, by malignant adversaries, who are and will be asha-
med to verifie their malice and wicked censure against
him, in any judicious Court of Equity :

With Petition to his most gracious Majesty King *Charles*, and the
most right Honorable high Court of Parliament for justice
and reliefe to him and his, thereby utterly ruined in
worldly estate, by such unsupportable
wrongs and cruell oppressions.

*He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they
both are abomination unto the Lord, Prov. 17. 15.*

Dr Baile in his Practise of Piety.

In all causes Judge aright; for thou shalt be sure to find a righteous
Judge, before whom thou shalt shortly appear to be judged thy
self: at which time thou mayst leave to thy friends this for
thine Epitaph.

*Nuper eram Judex, nunc judicis ante Tribunal:
Subsistens pavo, judicor ipse modo.*

June 10. 1644.



TO THE RIGHT HONO-

able the Lords and Commons assembled in the most
Right Honorable high Court of Parliament.

The humble Petition of Richard Boothby, Merchant.

Most humbly sheweth,

HIs insupportable wrongs sustained (as in this present
declaration in print, exhibited to every particular
Member of both Houses of Parliament, and most sub-
missively begged your Hon: favours (even for the ten-
der mercies of God in Christ Jesus) to pity & compassi-
onate the miserable and distressed estate of your poor impotent
Petitioner, and all his (a wife and five children) by affording him
justice in the causes mentioned in this present narration, and such
justice (and no other he beggeth for) as may stand with the glory
of God, the good construction of the wholesome laws of this King-
dom, and the honour of his Majesty King *Charles*, and the right
honorable high Court of Parliament, which though he be daun-
ted with exceeding great fears (as *Hester*) to present his Petition in
that most right honorable Court, not having your honors golden
Scepter of grace held out unto him, yet his cause being in great
measure like hers (necessitated to the preservation of her selfe and
nation; as his for himself and family) he is forced to put on her
resolution, *If I perish, I perish. Fiat voluntas Dei. June 10. 1644.*

To the right Honorable, (the Honorable) the right Worshipfull,
(the Worshipfull, &c.) the Generality of the honorable
East India Corporation.

Right Honorable, &c. Two things have costed and impulsed
me to trouble your Honours, &c. with this rude Epistle: The
one is an ardent desire I have not only to expresse my endee-
red affection to the honorable Society, but also my wil-
lingness (though uninvited, in coming to counsell before I am called, pre-
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suming of your gracious pardon if not good acceptance) to manifest or make known unto you what my weak capacity conceiveth behoovefull for the welfare and indemnity of the honourable Company of India Merchants in their right worthy famous action of Commerce. The other is for vindication of my good name, never yet justly tainted) by declaration of the intollerable wrongs which I Richard Boothby, an honest poor member of the India Company, and your trusty servant, hath undergone both in India, by lewd, malicious, tyrannicall, fraudulent, juggling fellow-servants; and also at home, by partiall, unjust, ingratefull, unconscionable, corrupt Governours, and timeserving Committees in the India Courts.

For your encouragements in that worthy action of Commerce, be pleased to conceive charitably and friendly of the opinion, or rather assured knowledge of a weak unintelligent Merchant, that the trade to and from India, & from port to port in the severall places of India, and other Kingdoms neer adjacent, is the most hopefull, beneficiall of any part of the world; wherein by Gods blessing, a competency (if not a superfluity) in estate is to be attained unto with small stock, in 4, 5, 6, or 7 yeares time; which 3 or 4 times so many yeares spent in other Countries, will not so suddenly supply with far greater stock. The danger of the trade by sea, especially in those oriental parts, is small, taking the opportunity and season of the yeare in the time of the favourable monsoons, or trading winds, the seas so calm and pleasant, that from India to Persia, Bantum, Mocco, Madagascar, Mauritius, and other parts, the ships commonly tow their long Boats, Skiffes, and Barges at their Stern to and again; and by a voyage in three, foure, or five moneths time too and again, there may be gained, 30, 40, 50, 60, 80. and 100. per cent. profit, and more in severall sorts of commodities, according to the judgement and discretion of the intelligent Merchant, in making choyce of his commodity, and attaining it at the best hand.

Hereof I will not much insist, having more at large discoursed thereof in a rude pamphlet tending to encouragements to plant in Madagascar (which perhaps may hereafter come out in print) where I could wish my selfe and family securely (with others my Countreyemen) seated in that most famous, pleasant, wholesome, fruitfull Island, as I suppose, transcending all others in the world, if my weak purse and decrepit unable body for travell, would permit.

The other cause moving me to this occasion for vindication of my good name, in manifestation of my wrongs, will be superfluous to insist upon in
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this Epistle, for that the present declaration thereof hereunto annexed, will more at large demonstrate the same.

Be pleased, right honourable, &c. courteously to accept the admonishments & advertisements of an unintelligent Merchant (especially in matters that are not within his line, or beyond the reach of his apprehension) yet in some things I may peradventure say more by industrious observation and affectionate duty to your Honours Corporation, its welfare and indemnity, then others (it may be) either can or will.

In the first place it were good at your generall Courts (especially at the election of your Governour, Deputy, Committees and Officers,) not to be absent to lend your votes in chusing fitting persons thereunto, men fearing God, and hating covetousnesse (for by your absence and small appearance of late at such times, the time-serving Governour and Committees, are better fitted to band together, to continue in their places, or to elect new, such men as they either know or presume will be for their accommodation the one to the other, in their own privat ends.) And if at such election some pious Divine spend an hour, or lesse, in godly exhortations in a Sermon, to perswade to upright dealing between all parties, as well in the differences between the Court and their servants, or their servants one against another, as for their fidelity and industry in managing the main affairs, or jynt stock of the Company. It may not perhaps be accounted or found an irksome, needles, or impertinent matter to spend an howers time in such businesse, nor yet a superfluous charge, to gratifie a worthy Minister for his pains therein: For surely, the partiality, injustice, uncharitablenesse, and ingratitude of those Courts, have wrought much wrong and oppression to their best deserving servants, and caused connivance at their most wicked, lewd, fraudulent, and worst deserving servants, being blinded with their heaps of ill-gotten goods, by bribery, and hopes to match such ill-deserving men in marriage to their daughters.

In the next place I think it not amisse to put you in mind, that charge be given to those Courts, to make choyce of their India servants, men of good repute and credit in life and conversation, as well as of men of ability and understanding to manage their affairs, and that no lewd, debauched, ill-livers, prodigall and brisly persons, prophane swearers, drunkards, and lascivious persons, of which sort too many have been entertained, by favour and friendship in Court, even of their own somes, kindred or friends, and by letters from great men to pleasure them, (sent out as the phrase hath been, for sacrifice,

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sacrifice, or by such voyages to reclaim them, which is rather the next way to thrust such persons into the Devils mouth, and to make them ten times worse then ere they were before) which turneth to the dishonour of God, the prejudice of the honourable Company, and their own souls hazard, countenanced by example of superiours there, given to all excesse of ryot, and delighting to make others children of Belial as themselves.

Thirdly, it were better in my weak Judgement, to make plain downright accord and covenant with their servants concerning private trade, rather then by indirect conniving thereat, to covenant with them for lesse salary, which they regard not in any comparison to their benefit by privat trading, (though they enter into large bonds to the contrary, which they know the Court never hath put in suit, nor ever will, as not effectually by the lawes of the Land) which is as difficult a thing to reclaim in their servants, as for a hungred starved Cook to dresse curious dainty viands for a great Feast, and be bound under great penalty, not so much as to lick his fingers. But other plain covenants and agreements may be devised to the better contentment and accommodation of their servants and themselves, (as my self hath heretofore demonstrated my opinion more at large in the particulars to the India Court, which were too large to relate in an Epistle.

Fourthly, why should it not be as easie and facile a matter to them at home to make choyce of their President and Councell in India, as to make choyce of succeeding Captains, Masters of Ships, and Commanders at Sea by occasion of mortality: And in my opinion the same course they take in the one, may as well be observed in the other; and not to leave the choyce of succeeding places of eminency in India, to their servants own choyce, where greatnesse of power, hopes of favour and privat respects, will cause servants to vote one for another, though to the great prejudice of their Honorable Employers, and the ruine of honest men in India, who are conscionable in their dutie to God and to their Masters, whereby much disaster hath befallen in the Companies affaires, by the juggling and defraudments of deceitfull persons in chiefeest places of eminency, and intollerable wrongs done even to their equals, for not running the same course, or not conniving thereat, as this plain Declaration will in part manifest. And its worthy the consideration of the Honorable Company, to endeavour its reformation. For a wicked President, and his packed main part of Councell, can easily in India make malicious shew of great crimes fained to be committed, against an honest man, and to arraigne him, condemne him to prison, suspend the salary, and ship him home a delinquent,

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quent, before ever he make his purgation to the Court at home, and so be and all his are in possibility to be ruined unjustly. For it is no small matter of moment, considering the multitude of dangerous disasters that depend thereon, whereof for feare of discouragement to any undertaker in those adventurous employments, I forbear the relation, which I could manifest of dangerous consequence both at Sea and Land, for a man to make a long dangerous voyage to India, and without just cause to be dismissed from his fair fortunes to seeke redresse in partiall unjust India Courts at home, where corrupt Governors and Courts when they have voted the innocency of the party abused, and promised restitution of wrongs, shall yet unconscionably for by respects, recall their former votes, and plead in the defence of the malignant parties. It's not for the accomodation of the honorable action of commerce to question the Presidents power and authority, but rather to defend it, (though never so wicked a tyrant;) nor for the honour of India Courts to be curious Inquisitors into the Presidents actions, (be they never so impious, fraudulent, or oppressfull.) And so long as such corrupt Courts at home are not reformed, it were better for an honest man so abused, to hang himselfe (were it not for the danger of his soule) then to undergo such wicked censures at home. In those India elections it is good to make choyce of pious Ministers, both for residency in India, and aboard your Shipping. The choyce of lewd men of that worthy function, hath done much hurt among your servants by their evil example, surpassing others in those lewd consuming sinnes of soule, body, and estate, Alea, Vina, Venus: Some of which have dishonored Gods, their nation and profession in a high degree, and made no conscience to leave their spurious bastards in India, to be bred up in Paganisme, and at ripe yeares to be had in esteem in regard of their whitenesse, by a lewd Christian bawd, to make a common harlot of.

Fifthly, it seems strange to me, that a government in India by a President and Councell, should be established by a privat Commission never seen to any in my time (or before or since) but to the President himselfe, who under colour of that power and authority, rules as a Tyrant, according to his own wicked disposition, Hoc volo, hoc jubeo; which whosoever shall question, is in danger ipso facto to be arraigned for his life as a traitor or mutiner: who having by usurpation crept into the place of Presidency, makes choyce of three more of Councell, whom he pleaseth, which he proudly calleth (His Councell,) like ambitious Cardinall Wolsey (Ego & Rex meus) And if but one of them stick close to him, whom he will be sure shall be a son
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of Belial fit for his purpose: then in regard of his double voyce, he carries all consultations or acts of Court which way he pleaseth, against the other two, and they also must in the end of necessity comply, or else their own ruine shall shortly be effected. Therefore in my simple opinion, it were more just, that lesser power were in the President, and more in the Councell (as I heare it is since lately somewhat amended in that point, upon my complaint and abuse done unto me by such Wyld government. And me thinks it were not amisse that the Presidents and Councels Commission, were at least once a yeare read at a publick Assembly, both to Merchants and Sea-men, that all men may know how to render due obedience to superiors, nor the superiors to Lord it too much over their inferiors. And also why should not hereto be added good Lawes and Ordinances for directions on both sides, how to behave themselves in their duties to God, their loyalty to their Sovereigne, the welfare of their honorable imployers, and the peace, tranquillity, and love one towards another; which I leave to your Honours and Worships considerations.

Kepe I may not let passe one thing, which I conceive hath been a curse to your worthy designe, and caused no small disaster to betide to the Honorable addition of Commerce, and that is a crying sinne of parents, wives, children and friends of your deceased and dead servants in India, by abusive wrong done to the estates of the defunct three severall wayes: The first is in regard of their bonds and covenants formally yeelded unto, which never any have kept, nor ever any will observe: and because they will keep close their privat trade with all the secrese they can, they never keep Merchant-like accounts for fear of being seized upon by some malicious, tyrannous, or malevolent President, or others in authority, if they chance to do or say any thing that displeaseth them, so that in stead of formall fair accounts, they kept their reckonings in loose papers in their pockets, or hid in some private place, which at the end of every voyage out and home to any Port in India, they lacerate and dismember in peeces, trusting in their Banjan Brokers to be masters of their Ware-houses, or keepers of their goods and moneys. And if any of these servants die, (being loath to commit trust to their own countrey-men,) the Banjan defrauds their Executors of all or greatest part of their estates, and so perhaps if they trust some supposed friend their Countrey-men, they do the like; or else wanting time in their extremity of sicknesse, cannot give their friend true information: And if they do, peradventure the Banjan and the supposed friend agree together and divide the estate into shares between

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tween them. The second is, that if the President, or some authorized by him, find out any estate of the deceased, the goods are sold at an out-cry, and the moneys brought into the Companies Cash, for the benefit of the Executors. But the abuse therein is insupportable, as formerly in India Courts at home. For two or three, or more, will covenant together to buy them at under-rates, either by selling them by the lump in great parcels, that the meaner Merchant hath not means to pay for them; or if divided, the greater and more able persons, will threaten the underlings to sit on their skirts, or to doe them some mischief, if by bidding a higher price then they, they seek to buy them out of their hands: And this I have seen with my own eyes (with grieve,) but being a prisoner, could not prevent the mischief to the defunct, which otherwise I would have endeavoured to have remedied. The third abuse to the deceased servants estate, is acted by the Court Committees at home, and that is by defrauding the Executors of the deceased of the benefit of the exchange for their moneys brought into the Cash in India, which in my time was double money at home: for if any man bought of the deceaseds estate in India, and did not there make speedy payment, his covenant was to pay double money out of the salary at home, or otherwise as his agreed upon: and my selfe have paid such exchange of double moneys abated out of my salary at home by the India Court, even for things bought, charitably to give away to poore men, having lost all their goods and necessaries in a ship ftered by Portugals, which for want of money, being a prisoner, and all my estate seized upon, I was contented to yeeld unto (as other men did,) rather then not to expresse a charitable affection to the indigent, according to my poore ability, or credit. Now the India Court think that they super-errogate in their charity, to pay the Executors of the defunct the principall, brought to their accounts in India, (though they make three, foure or five for one or more of their servants moneys;) and yet by that time the accounts are cleared, which happily may be six or twelve months, or longer time after the deceased have repaired from the remoter or furthest parts of the Kingdome, to seek after their deceased estate, sometimes (nay I doubt often) they have been forced to depart home, after great expence and charge, by waiting the Courts time to clear the accounts, with little or nothing, perhaps not enough to bear their charges down again. In some particulars of other mens, I could give bewailing intelligence of these passages; but I will instance onely in my own being living: then if the abuse be so great to the living, much more may the Executors of the deceased feel the burthen of these intollerable defraud-

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defrayments. My selfe being eminent in India, and one of Councell, being maliciously arraigned for a delinquent, (as the ensuing story will relate) had my goods seized upon, and sold, volens nolens, before my face, at 40. per cent. lesse of the principall, revengefully acted on purpose to make me a Bankrupt; (which managred the Presidents Devillish malice, could not be effected) though he and his lewd favourite, notwithstanding their massie estates of twenty or thirty thousand pounds a man fraudulently gotten in India within six yeares time, or lesse, after their return from England, with all the superabundant favour the India Court could bestow upon them; yet were forced to take sanctuary in the Kings Bench and Fleet; and there, but for the tenor of a Statute of Bankrupts against them, would have defrauded their creditors also at home, (which brought them perforce to an under composition.) Again, my estate being seized upon, as before mentioned, among other goods I had two great and large faire Persia Carpets, fit for the Foot-stoole, or Chair of State of a Christian Prince, which would have covered the pavement or floore of about twenty foot square, or more, and cost me in Persia the first peny, about fourtie pounds. These it seems the ambitious President took for his own use, to the honour of his magnificencie, and never brought them, or their proceed, to the Companies account. For which demanding restitution, he put me off to the India Court, affirming that at his coming from India, he left them (for their use) in the Custome house at Surrat, and the Court denieth to give me any satisfaction for them, alledging that they were never brought to their account, and therefore not able to make them good, though the unjust Governour had voted before in Court, in favour of the jugling President, their meer hireling jugling servant, against their loyall brother servant, that it was not for the accommodation of their action of commerce, to wave or question their Presidents power and authority, but to support and maintain it; neither for the honour of the India Court to be curious inquisitors into their Presidents actions; which is so horrible and detestable an ignominy to the honour of the India Society to defend, that that Honorable action of Commerce, could not be supported, but by fraud, oppression, tyranny, imprisonment, bonds, and the like, and murder too, if occasion so fell out: And so farre these Governours are from accusing consciences in such practices, that they take it to be an honour for them so to doe. But I have not yet done, I must further instance in more particulars in my own behalfe. At my departure from India, (a prisoner) I left in the hands of a succeeding President, a Trunk of rich apparel,

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apparrell, good books, Divine and History, and other necessaries, which at an easie rate I valued at fourscore pound; and had I staid in India, would not have taken halfe as much more money for them. And these goods it seems were sold at an out-cry (according to my former relation of such practises) for 32 l. and no account to be given to whom they were sold, nor any particular of any thing how sold, but all in lump at 32 l. which money being brought into the Companies Cash, and three or foure yeares after comming to account with the Court, they were so farre dishonest, as not onely to deny me the exchange for my money, but also to keep back the principall, being part of 1200. l. they are yet indebted unto me. Yet once more: My wife sent me out of England, a Token (to me of great esteeme) viz. her own and all her three childrens pictures in one fair Map, or Table, to the full proportion of every one. That honest well reputed Gentleman of the India Court, and my especiall kind friend, Captain James Slade, took upon him to bring it (by Gods blessing) in safety to my possession: But before his arrivall, I was shipt home unjustly (a malefactor.) At the arrivall of the Fleet in India, whereof Captain Slade was Admirall in the ship Discovery. Great enquiry was made by the present President, for things of rarity, to be bought and bestowed upon the Sultan, or Governour of Surrat: but in all the Fleet, none was found of greater esteem, then my wife and childrens pictures; which the President having intelligence of, sent to Captain Slade, to bring the same aboard the ship Charles, chiefe Admirall in the Port, to be viewed there by President and Councill. At which consultation it was decreed, that my pictures should be bought at good valuable rate, and to have credit for the same in the Companies books of accounts. And so the pictures were detained aboard the Charles, till order could be taken for their safe transport to Surrat. But the next day the ship Charles being fired by shooting of Guns at drunken healths (a detestable abuse and dammage to the honorable Company) the ship and all things within her, were burnt, and my pictures consumed. At the India Court (upon intelligence and certificate under Captain Slades hand, and his brothers, Mr. William Slade, Purser of the ship, and also of Mr. Nathanael Mountney, second of Councill to the President) I demanded restitution for my wife and childrens pictures, and tokens; but most dishonestly denied, saying, that in regard they were burnt, they were not liable to make them good unto me. These abuses are, as I am able to prove, to my dammage 500. l. And if such persons expect honour for acting and supporting fraud, robbery, envie, malice, and cruel oppression,

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to the ruine of a whole Family, one of their own Corporation, and living, what can be expected but far worse from them to the dead (mere hirelings, no way alied by Corporation, Adventure, or otherwise among them.) But surely, if I be not partiall in my own cause, I conceive they merit such honour as Haman had for intending the ruine of a whole Nation, yet strangers in blood and religion unto him.

There be many other things besides these mentioned at present, that require your Honours, &c. reformation (if you expect a blessing from God upon your adventures, which may well be conceived that such abusers and crying sinners have hitherto brought a curse upon that so worthy honorable action of Commerce) and upon examination will be brought to light; as this for one more; The India President usurps the power to fine men at his pleasure for delinquency, as he pleaseth maliciously to conceive against any: and those whom he envies and malignes, shall have hevy fines set upon them, which he knowes the Court at home will not remit, having their estates in possession: for all is fish that comes to their net, unlesse in favour to a Minion, or some chief in Court. And this cost an eminent Merchant in India, and at present in London, 500. l. though he brought certificates out of India to clear him from all aspersions cast upon him, (and to try a suit in Law with them, is to no purpose, for they boast they will be too mighty for any to withstand them, having a common rich purse against a privat poore one, to manage their unjust designs.) Likewise, if the offender be his favourite, or hath a good purse to bribe, his Fine shall be made easie to prevent a heavier punishment at home, (as unconscionable to be questioned or arraigned twice for one thing, censure being formerly past upon him.) I could instance somewhat in this point in the case of life and death, but I am more charitably minded then to cast aspersions upon any, having undergone (at least) a small trial for his life.

One thing more, right honorable, &c. be pleased to give me leave to admonish you of, Your honorable action of Commerce is like in time to suffer much, if you follow not the example of the Portugals, Dutch, and Danes, by strengthening your selves by some accommodable plantation neer India, both for a refuge for your shipping, and strengthening thereof; and also to fetch off your servants in India, upon wrong offered them by tyrannicall beatenish Moores: A taste whereof you have had heretofore by imprisoning your ebiefs and all other servants, and threatened with drubbing and chawbucking, and your Christian adversaries in that action will (for want thereof)

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dominier too much over you : And the best place for you to settle a plantation, is (in my conceit) at Madagascar, where if you set not foot in speedily, others of our nation, who (by report) have made entrance thereinto, may peradventure defeat you, and wring your charter from you for your neglect to the good of this Republick. This business I leave to your wiser considerations, and to such encouragements in that business, as lately I have in my weak capacity, conceived beboozefull, which may peradventure hereafter (if not with this) come out in print to the publick view.

Yet I may not omit to put you in mind, that you make better choyce of your Governours and Court Committees at home, and that (good part or greater at least) out of men well qualified, and of good report, bred up in India, rather then Shop-keepers, or ignorant Merchants, some of which were never farther at Sea, then aboard your brave ships in the Downs a feasting. For though some such men may be vertuous and well qualified for their breeding, and by long continuance in their places of Committee, have gotten good experience, yet they have only the theoricke, and are too short in the practick, and both are necessary, as by enlargement I could give better testimony. I conceive some men may object, I say thus much to insinuate my selfe, to get into place of Committee; which I am so far from the thought or desire, that I should more willingly accept of a poore pension from the Company, or to be an Alms-man in their Hospitall at Blackwall, which I am able to prove I have well deserved, even for my good endeavours to that charitable work.

Thus, right Honorable, right Worshipfull, and others, a faithfull loving member of your worthy Corporation, being ruined in estate, by partiall, uncharitable, unjust, corrupt Governours, and time-serving Committees in your India Courts, and being at present, lame, impotent, diseased, and in a manner bed-ridden, and already halfe in his grave, yet hath indeavour'd, not without great pain, to manifest his zealous affection to your Honours, &c. welfare and indemnity, which he hath been therather induced unto, being deprived of all means to doe you service in India, as a servant or friendly accomodation upon his own adventure (wherein his duty as a member of the Company, should not have been wanting.

To which employment my affection hath been so addicted, as I think never any mans that was banisht his native country, hath been more desirous to returne thither again, then mine hath to revisit India: But now having lost all my fortunes, hopes and limbs, and ready for the grave, (when God shall be pleased to fit me for my dissolution) I humbly intreat your Honours, &c.

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to accept of my honest, loyall affectionate intents, (in this tedious Epistle, though I want not matter to enlarge to a farre greater volume,) in as good part as it is presented unto you. And if it please your Honours, &c. out of your grace and goodnesse, to take into consideration the distressed estate of your true, loyall servant, so much abused, wronged, and oppressed, abroad and at home, to cause restitution for the same, from your Honours, &c. substitutes and servants, the chiefe delinquents, wrongers and oppressors, or out of the generall stock, as to your Honours, &c. shall seem most agreeable to justice, charity, and repute of the honorable India Corporation (which is the most humble petition of your late industrious loyall Servant, I doubt not but thereby you shall doe a businesse pleasing to God, acceptable to the Honourable high Court of Parliament, (to ease them in righting privat mens wrongs, to the better furtherance of the weighty affairs of the Republick, more considerable:) For which your Honours, &c. most humble impotent Petitioner, and all his distressed Family, shall ever pray for your Honours, &c. temporall and eternall felicity.

Richard Boothby,

This Title should have been placed immediatly after the names of the Referrees in the second page following, but mistaken by the Printer.



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND WORSHIPFUL SIR

Henry Rowe, Sir Job Harby, and Sir George Clarke, Knights:
Thomas Keightly, Daniel Harvey, and Robert Grimes, Esquires,
Referrees appointed by his Majesty King Charles, to end
the controversies between the India Court and Richard
Boothby and his India adversaries, servants to the
Honorable East India Company, according to
Petition for his Majesties grace and
favour therein.



A true Declaration of the Wrongs
done to RICHARD BOOTHBY Mer-
chant in *India*.

THe unhappy project of Sir *William Cockam* Knight, *Cockaine*
about *Anno* 1615. to wring the Charter of the
most famous Right Worshipfull Company of
Merchants Adventurers of England out of their
power, to the advantage of him and his Associ-
ates, brought much disaster to the Common-
wealth, to that worthy Company, and to my self in particular a
member thereof also in high degree: (though in the end return-
ed to the said Companies credit, and his blame and discredit)
whereupon I *Richard Boothby*, a Member of that Company, was
forced to search out Trade in other Countreys wherein I had no
experience (to my great losse and disadvantage) and among the
diversity of many experiments, fell to make triall of the East In-
dia Adventures, purchasing my freedome thereof at 50l. And
adventuring 2400l. in that Action of Commerce, which being
unmerchantly handled by injudicious partiall Governors (aim-
ing more at their own particulars then the Vulgar Accommoda-
tion, brought great losse and damage to the Worthy Adventu-
rers, and to my self in particular, the occasion whereof drew me
(being unwilling to proceed further in my Vocation of an Ad-
venturer thither, or to other parts, for fear of sliding into the
condition of a Banckerupt or insolvent (which I did much ab-
hor)

hor) to tender my service to the India Court Committees to be employed in the Honorable Companies affaires into India where I was accepted of, and intertaind with the greatest applause and best accommodations of any before me. At my arrivall in India (being one of Councill) I endeavoured to discharge a good conscience towards God, and the duty of a loyall Subject to my Sovereigne King *Charles*, and the trust committed to me by the Honorable Company their Substitutes.

But ere I had been there many Moneths, I took good notice of the great dishonour done to Gods glory by the lewd lives and conversations of all the English in generall, and the chief heads in particular; the dishonour also therein to my gracious King and native Countrey, and the deep juggling and impostures of the President *Rich: Wild*, and *George Page* of the Councill: to the defraudment of their Honorable Employers, which first brought me in envie and bad suspicion of a Spie, a Puritan, and Informer, (and so called) because I did not run in the same excessse of riot with them.

And by little and little drew me on (endeavouring to reforme such abuses according to Injunction given me at home by Court Committees) to be wickedly maligned and abused with intolerable wrongs, injurious affronts, and cruell oppressions; As being one of Councill commanded to base inferior employments almost scornfull to an Apprentice, especially of three or foure yeers standing (the Banjans in India taking notice thereof to my condolement) also to attend the Custome-House affairs on the Sabbath dayes (offensive to my conscience, and the more by observation that the *Moores* would not attend those affairs upon their heathenish Idolaters Holy dayes, whilest the (vertuous or rather) wicked President *Rich. Wild*, and his lewd Favourite *George Page* feasted, and drunk themselves drunk with *Dutch, French, Italians, Armenians*, &c. And that by reason I was an eye-sore and offence unto them, distasting and yeelding milde reproof unto their Bachelian Sabbath-breakings, and lewd discourse, and boastings at such times of their licentious lives and conversations, little inferiour (as I conceive) to the Earl of *Castle-havens*. Then divers plots were machinated to expell me the factory of *Surrat* to some

Idolaters

Armenians

some remote place for their more freedome in evill.

And first, they plotted and concluded I should be sent Agent to the Court at *Agra* (1000 miles off by land) but that plot would not fit, in regard the Councell had lately dissolved that imployment as unnecessary and too chargeable.

Secondly, they plotted to send me to the most uncouth forlorn and contemptible Factory in India (*Brodera*) for which many young men had been sutors (fitter for that imployment) and they had promised that preferment. But thither (*volens, volens*) I must go, yet being of Councell I excepted against that Act of consultation, making short protest in writing in the book under the Act as prejudiciall to the Honorable Corporation, and injurious to my self, having covenanted for my residence at *Surrat*, and no other; yet yeilded and took that charge upon me, though as my second told me before my departure thither, my Adversaries had suborned him to lay traps to insnare me, and to be very circumspect to observe all my actions to get matter against me. But if he could find none, to write to President and Councell, that I was of such a quarrellsome and contentious a disposition, that it was not possible for him or any to live with me; for which they promised him the preferment into that place. But (he as he said) being touched in conscience to see me so much abused, could not but reveal it unto me upon my promise of secrecie.

And a day before my departure, *George Page*, notwithstanding his said wicked plot, with my second to betray me, insinuated himself into sudden familiarity with me, excusing himself for having ^{any} an hand to put me out of the Factory at *Surrat* to be sent to *Brodera*, laying all the malice on *Richard Wilde* the President; And to make me more blind then a Beetle, or sencelessly ignorant of the plot, would needs bestow upon me a *Machivile Brile* or ^{fribe} poysoned Piscash, like the traiterous kisse of *Judas* to our Saviour Christ, (which was a new Velvet Belt with faire silver Buckles) I made faire shew of complement with him, and accepted of his Piscash or gift, rather then to shew distaste, or to give any notice that I had any intelligence of the plot against me, by discovering the secret imparted unto me by my second to his detriment. Moreover, the malicious Machivill President when I came to take

my farewell of him gave it me for a great charge, (for no other at that time was given me) in the Honorable Companies affairs, nor other Instructions for my inmployment. (Copies of former Accompts and passages (which by order from that Court at home ought to be left in every Factory for direction to successors) nor any Moneys, Bills, Bills of Exchange, or credit to manage those affaires (untill a day or two after my departure) to be carefull, and carry a strict hand over *William Price* my Second, to reclaime him from his lewd, uncivill, and rude behaviour. Thus they that lay snares to trap the innocent, in the end are themselves ensnared. The Geefe had need to be warned when the Fox preaches, And this text of Scripture was far out of his remembrance, or would take no knowledge thereof: *Thou art inexcusable O man, what soever thou art that judgest, for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thy self: for thou that judgest dost do the same things. Rom. 2.*

Thirdly, being arrived there, they plotted how to ensnare me in their Commissions, devising to send me two Commissions, the one as contrary to the other as black to white; the one an expresse command of our Musters, the other quite contrary of their own: to which of our Musters because I leaned in my Responce, and declined from theirs (in words though not in deeds) they then upbraided me with base reproachfull letters, commanding me not to make reply to their revilings, I knew no such power an Indian President had (his Commission being never made known) to any though of Councell, and my self one of Councell as deep in Commission as President himself (onely in a double or casting voice) deemed it as a great wrong to all the Companies servants in generall, and a great indignity to my self in particular, not to make responce thereunto which I performed in my own Apologie or defence, yet concluded Christianly, desiring unity and peace, &c.

Fourthly, my reply seconded with a Journey made to visit Amadavad the greatest City in India (two dayes journey off) wanting inmployment, untill such time as I could be fitted to observe their expresse Commission contrary to our Muster, and returned within six dayes; little dreaming that a brother of the Company

*Masters
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Company, and one of Councill in *India*, was in condition of a slave, or School-boy, that might not take lawfull recreation, or travell a little to better his experience, without leave obtained from such Imperiall Majelty, therefore these acts were made mutinous, and I condemned by their censures in malicious consultation, before I came to make answer to any objection against me; and thereupon (about a months time after my first entrance into that service) was commanded to return to *Surrat*, to undergo more revengefull condemnation; to which I obeyed (though in a most irksome time of the yeare for travell, in times of rain not usuall for any to travell in.)

Fifthly, at my arrivall at *Surrat*, I was presently put out of my chamber, and thrust into the worst lodging in the house, adjoyning to the Porters lodge, commanded to take my diet at the second table, among Counting-house Scrivans, Purfers, Mates, and Cabbins-boys taken ashore for inferior services, and they commanded to take place at table above me, whose parents, or themselves, if I had been ambitious or malicious, I would have scorned with *Job*, to have set with the Heardsmen of my flock, *Job saith,* having at home at that present, a family living in reputation, *With the dogges of* and having had men of better quality then the best of them, *my flock,* I mean the chiefe, to wait at home upon my Trencher, Knights, *Job 30* Gentlemen, and Citizens, some of the best quality in *England,* *scornes* and my selfe an Esquire by two offices to two severall famous Kings, King *James* and King *Charles*, under the Broad Seale of *England*. And the best of them, even President himselfe, never of ability to keep house or servant, but of lewd condition, base runnagates, bankrupts, or insolvents.

Sixthly, this did not yet suffice, but they proceeded to seize upon all my estate, books, and papers, proclaiming me a bankrupt, forcing my Creditors for debts not above a month old, to bring in my Bills to the President, and to take new Bills of his in the Companies name, on purpose to discredit me, selling such goods as I had upon my hands, at forty pounds in the hundred lesse then they cost me, forcing me to pay other mens debts to a greater value then I had subscribed for security with interest, thereby to make me insolvent; which maugre their malice, they could

not

not do; but I satisfied all men to the full, with interest, to a pice, (or farthing) which they have not done since that time, though of twenty or thirty thousand pounds estate fraudulently accrewed.

Seventhly, then having penned seven most malicious, childish, foolish Articles against me, they proceeded to my arraignment before a Senat of Cabbins-boyes and Scrivans, as before, patch'd up to make up a solemne judicious Parliament, most despitely forcing me to stand at the lower end of two long Tables joyned together, bare-headed, having my malicious adversaries to be my accusers, Jury, and Judges; where all being moved, I demanded by what power and authority the President so shamefully abused me: to which he made response, he had commission strong enough to bear him out: the commission I required to see, or to hear read; which he denied, saying, That yet never any saw it but the President himsele in present possession, nor any should. I again replied, That I did not conceive that his Majesty of *England* would grant any Dormant Commission to countenance tyranny and usurpation: And that my selfe being of Councell, ought to be made acquainted therewith, being as great in Commission as he, except in a casting voyce, and therefore again required him to produce his Commission, not only to my satisfaction, but to all other his Majesties subjects in those parts: but he still continued ambitiously and tyrannically obstinate, untill at length *John Skylebow*, on of Councell (whom the President kept under as a slave, knowing how to bring him to his bow at any time with a bottle of Sack, for which he would even sell himself as *Esau* his Birth right for a messe of pottage, yet at that time was bold to second my just demand, alledging that he conceived that not onely the Councell, but all others ought to be acquainted with the Commission, which from himself also was kept in secret two years since he had been in India, ordained by the Court at home for Second of Councell to Mr. *Thomas Kerridge* the former President, and to succeed him in place of Presidency. But *Wild* having as it seems matter enough against *Kirridge* to disgrace him at home, and of a haughty daring spirit, he durst do no other but settle *Wild* in his usurped Presidency, and displace *Skylebow* contrary

trary to the Courts Ordinance, which in the end caused him to produce the Commission, giving the Register order to read it, which was to this effect, authorizing President and Councill to call notorious offenders to account, and in case of Murther, Bugger, or such hainous crimes to arraigne them for their lives; but with this proviso, that his Majesty did conceive that men attaining to those places of authority in *India*, might be ignorant of the just Lawes of *England*, and therefore cautiously advised them rather to incline to lenity and charity: for if otherwise they did wrong or abuse his loving subjects, he would exact a severe account of them, and punish them according to their desert. The Commission being so pious and gracious, I willingly did submit to the arraignment. The Articles propounded, I desired a Copie to give answer in writing; which with much ado in the end I obtained, and gave such response thereunto, as made nothing for their advantage. Yet not with that satisfied, they devised nine more childish, foolish, and most malicious Articles against me, and upon a second arraignment commanded me to take oath (*ex officio*) to answer to such Articles *verbatim*, or *ex tempore*, as they should be propounded against me, which I refused to do, but desired to have a copie, and time to make reply; which would not be granted. Then to enforce me thereunto, they threatned me with torture and death, to be hanged upon a Gallows of an extraordinary height at the Sea port, before the Christian ships lying there at anchor. Thus terrified with menaces, dreading their devillish, malicious, revengefull spirits, and knowing my self innocent of any crime they might justly charge me withall, I took the Oath: and the Articles being propounded, were either Matchivily penned, to draw from me what I knew of their juggling & impostures, the better by fraud to clear themselves therefrom, or maliciously to draw strong accusations against my self, as which notwithstanding were nothing to their purpose of defence, but more to their condemnation; & though I intreated and charged the Register to pen my response truly, yet he made answer with the Presidents approbation, that he would therein fulfill my request, but followes the Presidents order and command. By these last Articles, they wrung from me some accusation

cusation against themselves, which did stumble them, (supposing my ignorance of their impostures;) yet having now got the knowledge thereof, they dissolved that Court, and fell to consult in their Cabinet-councell, how to cleare themselves, and to make me a malicious slanderer, which within or about fourteen dayes after they effected, as they supposed, to have made their black deeds as cleare, or white, as snow, and their mid-night juglings cleare from aspersions, as the Sun in his bright lustre at noon day; and that by making two of their Christian brethren, (the Companies servants) to forswear themselves point-blank against a known truth both to my selfe and others the Companies servants, which thing I was much grieved at for the offence to God, and wrong to their own consciences: yet I laughed in my sleeve (even in the midst of affliction) to see how they were intrapped in their own snare, having sufficient proofes against them to the contrary, which for feare of causing mischief unto them (who were adjutors also in the jugling) and by themselves revealed unto me, I did conceale to more fit opportunity, at which time they were enforced by appearance of truth on my side, to confesse their wicked imposture and unparalleld jugling act of consultation to cleare themselves from all aspersions of such future act; and yet ere three days were expired (as I take it) they committed the same again to the detriment of the honourable Corporation and their own gain, many hundred if not thousand pounds, besides the hazard of the Companies great estate, and the danger of their servants lives. Now all things fitted in their conceits to the purpose, they thought it due time to proceed in sentence against me. And first to expresse their malicious revenge in a high degree, they bestowed upon me odious titles of ignominy, as Puritan, dissembling Hypocrite, brazen faced Knave, base Villain, perjured Rogue and Rascall: and their most unjust, cruell, revengefull sentence was, that I should be dismiss my employment, my salary suspended, kept a close prisoner in the *English* House, clapt in Irons, lodged in a dungeon, and fed with the bread of affliction, and at the departure of the next Fleet for *England*, shipt home a prisoner. All which and more was injuriously inflicted upon me: I was that evening sent to my dun-
geon

geon, and at the doore a mighty paire of Bilbowes set, ten or twelve foot long, to fasten me in the Iron Stockes; but my Dungeon not being six foot square, would not admit their entrance: yet terrified with thought of my misery approaching, I intreated the Steward of the House, (being penfive of my wrongs, and appointed to fasten me in Irons) to forbear untill the next day, for that I intended to write a submissive letter to a tyrant President, to ease me of that shame and torture; which he charitably yeelded unto: and for his neglect had my Bilbowes clapt upon his heels. But after some houres of indurance, were by petition of friends released, and the Purser of the house sent to fetter me in shackles; which was performed, and a cruell Jaylor (a son of *Belial*, *John Willowby*) set to watch me, that no *English*, Christian, or Heathen, should come neer me, or converse with me; yet my two loving trusty Indian Peoons, or servants, would not forsake me, though I had not a peny to pay them for their pains, or to provide bread for my selfe; yet in the end ten pence *English* per day *way* allowed for all our maintenance, with command not to pay above a dayes pension at a time, and that neither, unlesse every day sued for. Thus a close prisoner I continued six moneths, though after some reasonable time eased first of my Irons, and after of my Dungeon, to somewhat a better lodging; and that out of an accusing and condemning conscience of their own, setting my friendly Banjans to perswade me to write him submissive Epistles, which should tend to reconciliation; which three times at their perswasion I performed, and by the first I obtained a releasment from Irons; by the second, a lodging somewhat better then my Dungeon; and by the third, freedome of the walkes in the house, and diet at the second Table, as formerly related: By a fourth, which they pressed me unto, though with much unwillingnesse in regard I had been three times deluded upon their words, that a reconciliation should be, and I restored to former place, or better, they protested by their Heathen gods, that he had faithfully promised before, and now more assuredly in their conceit; and that if he did not perform his promise unto them, he was a Devill and no man. These earnest perswasions prevailed with me, and I indeed writ a fourth submissive E-

pistle, and the effects that produced, was to be commanded aboard the ship *Jonah* a prisoner in a meaner Cabbin then Boat-swaines Mates, to sail along with the Fleet for *Perfia*, and at their return to sail therein for *England*.

The *Banjans* admired at the wickednesse of the man in the fore-passed businesse (and that which ensued) about a moneth before at the return of the ship *Jonah* from *Bantam*, having in her great store of Cloves, which six moneths before were a Drug of no esteem at *Surrat*; yet at the instant of her arrivall, enhanced in price to double money and more: My friendly *Banjans*, who ever gave me more respect then I deserved, came to me (having then liberty of the House) to expresse their loving and kind respects, and for proof thereof, because the *Wylde* President had forced them (as formerly related) to bring in my Bills, and take new of him, which they disclaimed to be their act (so much as in thought) but meerly his Devillish malice and revenge, they tendered me a means how to get many thousand pounds suddenly in a week or fortnights space, or a very short time, which though at first I was somewhat jealous of, yet hearkned to their propositions, which was to buy up presently all the Cloves in the ship *Jonah*, at the price currant then a ship-board, and they would sell them again for me at fiftie or sixty, or more *per cent.* profit. At which their offer I was the more jealous and daunted, knowing my inability to compass the businesse both in regard of ready moneys which must be paid for them, & also in regard I was a prisoner, and could not stir abroad to effect their proposition, but to both these impediments they applied remedies: first, for money they would supply me therewith instantly; and for want of my liberty, they advised me to write to Captain *Richard Swanly*, commander of the ship, to effect it for me, proportioning him some share for his pains; which though my adversary *George Page*, the Presidents lowd favorite were gone two or three hours before down to the ship to effect that businesse for himselfe and President, which took me somewhat off, yet they so earnestly did presse me with recounting *George Pages* slow moving, usually drinking hard, or to be drunk at the halfe-way Tree (a baiting place) and there to take a nap of an houre, two or three in sleep, that

that my letters might come aboard before him : which counsell of theirs I followed, and presently sent one of my trusty Peoons away with letters in speed to Captain *Swanly*, discovering the fair offer of my friendly *Banjans*, and allotting halfe for his share ; which letters came aboard two houres before my adversary *George Page*. But Captain *Swanly* danted with my sudden down-fall, since his departure six months before, & terrified with threats of President to displace him for that he had before taken part with other Sea Commanders in consultation about their Commission, which were most strong and effectuell, and those Commanders gone for *England*, and not ready to back him again, he durst not attempt the businesse, but let it fall to the benefit of his and my adversaries, and our losse to many thousand pounds, which my friendly *Banjans* were sorry for, and cursed his Devilish malicious projects against me, as yet ensueth.

The revengefull President finding that I had more credit, being a prisoner, then himselve with all the Companies credit pin'd upon his back, (for just at this instant he having engaged himself for the Company with the usurers about 100000. l.) and the *English* ships not arriving so soon as was expected, his Creditors made means to the Governour, that he should not stir out of the Town untill better satisfaction were given to discharge his credit in the Countrey ; and in that interim twice endeavouring to go aboard the ship *Jonah*, was commanded to return, and not to stir aboard. And now having commanded me a prisoner into *Persia*, in hope as expectation was, of a great Fleet of *Portugals* to lay way and intercept us, he hoped I might either meet with a knock to take away my life, or some other disaster might befall me, yet had another Devilish project in the action, seeing my credit, as aforesaid, and therefore to prevent me of all benefit or accommodation in the voyage, by procuring an Edict from the Governour, (whose credit was repaired by the *English* Fleets arrivall, within three or four dayes after with sixty thousand pounds in gold and silver to lessen the Companies debts) that no man should credit me upon forfeiture of five hundred Rupies, nor no Broker procure me credit upon forfeiture of a thousand Mamoodces. By which means my friendly *Banjans*, as also with fear of drubbing

from such Moorish tyrants, were taken off to my losse of some thousands of pounds more; which many of the Companies servants of inferior rank made to themselves in that voyage, some a thousand, some two thousand, some three thousand or more advantage. And to adde more malice and revenge, hee abused me in his letters to the Agent and Merchants in *Persia*, with most egregious slanders of mutiny, contention, spie, and informer, &c. perswading and commanding him not to let me come ashore, nor to be possessor of some small means I had in the countrey left the last yeare, but to return it to him to give satisfaction for my engagements to the Company, as he mendaciously pretended. Thus we passed our voyage for *Persia*, my selfe receiving better accommodation from Captain *Swanly*, then the *Wylde* President expected, yet not so good as the Captain promised, and had reason to perform; but that he was over-awed with my adversaries power, or doted on their great estates to his gratification. At our arrivall in *Persia* I kept my selfe aboard still a prisoner, untill from the Agent and Merchants there, I received kind letters of invitation ashore, maugre the Presidents malicious slanderous letters, which they regarded not, knowing and understanding better of themselves to some of whom I was well known in *England*, and likewise from better report of Merchants and Seamen that came in the ships. I courteously accepted their kind favours, went ashore, had my accommodation for lodging second to none in the *English* House, seated next the chief Agent at table, above all Sea Commanders, and Merchants, the Admirall Capt. *Weddall* excepted, who sate uppermost of the one side, and my self on the other, and the Agent at Boords end; they also delivered me the proceed of my goods commanded to the contrary, sent me a brave *Persia* Horse to ride about at my pleasure, with some *Persia* servants to attend me, besides my own two Pecons, which would not forsake me untill I went for *England*. The Agent nor Captain *Weddall* (famous in that place for conquering *Ormuz*) never going to visit or feast with the Sultan of *Gombroone*, the Sultan of *Ormuz*, nor the *Dutch*, but desired my company along with them. But here, though I have been prolix above my intent, yet not so much as my cause doth require. I cannot but condole the

Honorable

Honorable Companies losse as well as mine own, for many years together by probability of many hundred thousands of pounds, by the indiscretion of the Governour and Court at home, and the Companies Agents in *India*, which in this years Fleet I wil (as an eye-witnesse instance in:) The Company had sonre ships of great burthen, loaden with *Moores*, *Persian* and *Arabian* goods, and theire servants priunt trade; the Dutch had foure or five great ships, and the Indians five or six India Junkes, all sailing richly loden as for England in friendly manner together. And at their arrivall all of the goods were sold in three weekes time for ready money in good Royals of eight, at forty, fifty, sixty, eighty, & an hundred per cent. profit and more; and the India Company at home, had no goods at all, but moneys brought out of *England* first to *Surrat* in *India*, and sent in *spetie* into *Persia*; which money being invelted at *Surrat* in goods, would have yeilded them the same *spetie* at *Gombroone* with the profit above mentioned, and from thence carried up to *Spahan* to preserve the contract with the king of *Persia*; for silk would have yeilded them as much or more profit by all probability, or else those Merchants would not have travelled fifteen hundred miles by land, to bring down ready mony to buy up all *Indian* commodities, which is worth the notice to be taken of, and that *Indian* Government or Governours to be questioned and examined upon the injudicious manner of managing that most famous action, or privat connivance for their own advantages. And so I leave that discourse, and return again to my former.

In our voyage outward and homeward into *India*, many discourses pait among us at the Captains Messe, about my intollerable sufferings; whereat some endeavoured to blame me (for not humbling my self both in word and deed, and writing, to a tyrant for my own advantage, which they said they would have done: To which I made reply, that I had done so much in that kind, and prevailed nothing, that I was ashamed now of my own hand-writings in that submissive manner, protesting never to do the like again, which they that knew not of it before, condoled my infortunity under a tyrants power. Amongst these discourses much question was made whether the President *Richard Wylde* and

and his favourite *George Page*, would take their voyage for *England*, or no, in the Fleet returned from *Persia*; because a little before the ships arrivall from *England*, they gave it out that they would (being indeed danted with feare to be sent for home for their misdemeanors, as indeed *George Page* was, but *Richard Wylde* confirmed for another year:) But at the ships going for *Persia*, they gave out they would not; but I gave my verdict, as it proved, that they would, for that I understood *George Page* would not go home without his Patron *Richard Wylde* to defend him, who also feared to let *Page* go before him, lest he for his own ends might lay all his own crimes upon *Wylde*; and *Wylde* feared to be sent for the next year, as he was. And therefore thought it more for his credit to goe before he was sent for: and at our arrivall in *India*, all fell out as I had conceived, and they ready prepared for the voyage within a moneth after. In our voyage from *Persia*, I had framed a Protest (though ignorantly and unskilfully penned as a thing never before acquainted with all) against the proud tyrannous President and his lewd Counsellors, for their dishonour to Gods glory, the King and Nations repute, and the honourable Company their welfare and indemnity, and my own insufferable wrongs, which I intended to have published presently upon the ships arrivall at *Surrat*. But being arrived, and before we came to anchor, newes was brought aboard of great alterations in the Factory: First, that my malignant adversaries were prepared to take their passage for *England*; and secondly, that it was determined that I should be left President, and Mr. *Skibbow* to be put by that place, though in right it were his due. The first was not strange unto me, because I did conceive their resolutions (though they made shew to the contrary) and that of purpose they had thipt me out of the way, because I was an eye-sore unto them, and they could not plot all their jugling ends, because of my presence. The other businesse stumbled me, in regard that divers young men on shore having formerly during my imprisonment in the *English House*, made their peace with me (in a fit of sicknesse in time of a Feaver, more likely to die then to live) excusing themselves for voting against me at my arraignments, pretending it was for feare of a tyrannous President to do them a mischief

mischief, and not of any disaffection to me or my cause: and others aboard ships desiring to be taken ashore, and preferred into service there: But my answer to them was, That I saw no possibility of such effects, wishing them to forbear, and to attend the issue; yet the end and purpose of this Imposition I could not dive into: for within foure or five dayes after our arrivall, certain propositions were made to me then and at other times by foure severall men; the first by *Thomas Turner*, Purser of the ship *Jonah*; the second, by Captain *Swanly*; the third, by the Secretary at *Surrat*; and the fourth by *Padoe Fuller* Minister. These propositions tended all to one purpose, that there was a faire way for me yet laid to make my selfe a fortune by staying in *India*, if I would comply to the Presidents desire; and in so doing, I should succeed in place of Presidency (old *Skibbum* being thought unfit in regard of his continuall drunkennesse) I desired them to propound the means, & I would endeavour to give good satisfaction: The reply of them all was this, That if I would once more write a submissive letter to the President, acknowledging my errour, and intreating his favour, all should succeed to my hearts desire. I gave them all thanks for their good will, yet I desired them to give me better satisfaction what grounds they had of assurance, or possibility that in so doing I should obtain my request; and whether the Propositions proceeded meerly from their own imaginations, or incitation of others. To which they all replied severally (though with much seeming unwillingnesse to reveale it) that they were put upon the businesse, some by *George Page*, and some by the President, and some by both: Of which being now fully satisfied, I made them all alike one answer, that I had heretofore written many such submissive Epistles at the instance of my friendly *Banjars*, but was in them all deluded, and that I had not onely resolved in my selfe, but had vowed to some of them in our voyage to *Persia*, that I never would write again any submissive letter, being much ashamed to think of those formerly written. But if the President pleased to conferre with me either in publick or privat, I would strive to give him such good satisfaction, as I hoped might stand with his liking and repute as well as my own good. At which reply they seemed all to be sorry, and

and blamed me for being obstinate to contemne so hopefull an opportunity to the good of me and all mine: And so not complying with a tyrants desire, felt shortly after the vials of their Devillish revenge; perhaps animated the more thereunto, by the Protest I had formerly framed, and now at last published (as my conscience told me was my duty to act, for the reasons above premised) yet to comply somewhat fairly with him, and not to provoke him further, I sent up unto him from the ships, such goods and moneys as I had brought from *Persia*, committed to my own power by the Agent there, contrary to his Imperiall command (knowing also that it had been in vain to contest with him) and so by this means I was deprived of all helps to furnish my selfe with privat comfort all provisions for a full yeares voyage. But praised be God therefore, though the chief of my fare in that voyage, was the ordinary ships allowance of Beef & Pork of 3 years powthering, and scraps of mouldy Bisket, too well replenished with Mites and Maggots, and stinking water smelt before it came neere a mans head; yet in that long voyage I was not sick a day, nor ever refused one meales meat, though I often wished to be set on the score (for moneys or means I had none) 5 shillings, or ten shillings a meale for such fresh provisions, Bread and Beere as my servants enjoyed at home. And though I did comply so fairly with him to my own misery, yet had this juggling President the conscience to defraud and cheat me of part of those goods fitting for his ambitious magnificency, and that was in two large *Persia* Carpets, usuall in *Persia* and *India* with men of quality to floor the rooms they lie or sit in; or the Princes of Christendome in their Chairs of State; which Carpets cost me in *Persia* about 40 pound English, and would have covered the floore in a roome about eighteen or twenty foot square: for excuse of his defraudment, he pleads that he left them in the Custome house for the Companies use, and so puts me upon them for satisfaction: and they forc'd me off to him, alledging they were never brought to their account, and therefore they not liable (though they plead against me in his defence) for the wrongs done unto me. It was not fit for them to wave or question the Presidents power and authority, but rather to support and maintain

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provided.

tain it. The time being now come to put to Sea for *England*, a day before he delivered up his Commission to Mr. *Skibbow*, a warrant was directed by *Skibbow*, as President, annexed with his hand, and other new Councillors, to the Admiral of the Fleet, for my strict imprisonment at Sea, to be lodged in a very mean Cabbin, and to take my diet with the common men, and not to be permitted to goe ashore in any Countrey Island where we should arrive for refreshment, or otherwise; nor in *England* untill by expresse order from the Governors and Committees of *India* Courts; which warrant was without any authentick authority jugglingly contrived to put off the shame from them: for *Skibbow* had no power to grant such warrant, but by feare of compulsion before he was established by Commission, and the other being in Commission, were ashamed of the act, as they might also of all other revengefull acts. So I was now bound for *England* a prisoner, to my adversaries great hopefull expectation that I should perish at Sea for want of necessaries in so long a voyage, and so make an end of the troubles they feared would happen unto them for their intollerable oppressions towards me, (they having provided for themselves out of the abundance of their ill gotten goods, twenty or thirty thousand pounds a man) by report three hundred pound in excellent provisions of all sorts comfortable for necessity, and superfluous to ryotous gluttony and ebriety. And now I may say farewell all my faire hopefull Fortunes in *India*, second to none before me, and perhaps transcendent to all that shall come after me, and the expectation of misery and penury in so long, irksome, and dangerous a voyage, (but God be praised for the prevention thereof, as formerly exprest.) At Sea the grieve of my lodging (straitned with room, and wet with rain, and nothing privat neither day nor night) I made moan to Captain *Swanly*, our Commander, putting him in mind of his faire promises (notwithstanding his false warrant) and his small performances, for better: whereat though at first he seemed to take in ill part by my adversaries suggestions) yet in the end he better bethought himselfe then to comply with tyranny against one whom he knew deserved good at his hands; whereupon he removed me from thence, to be associate with his Mate

Richard Garlick, in the round house, as *Mr. Gregory Clement*, Merchant, was with him in the great Cabbin: wherein though my lodging were better, and more commendable, yet the association with a drunken sot was as great a burden to me. But thus we passed on to *Mauritius*, to spend some time there in refreshment: where I was timorous to set foot on shore in regard of the mandate against me. But our Captain in the end connived thereat also; and there the Admirall Captain *Weddall* making a feast aboard his ship, invited all Merchants and Sea-officers of note, my selfe onely excepted: At which feast some well-willer to me condoling my infortunty, alledging the feast was uncharitable and not compleat, for that I sat alone in my Cabbin, wanting necessities, which they enjoyed to superfluous garmandizing: whereat my adversary, the late President, began to excuse himself, and to lay all the fault upon his Minion, or Favourite, *George Page*. *George Page* retorts it again upon him. And in fine, with multiplying of words and affronts one against the other (each threatening to accuse the other of indirect dealing, juggling and defraudments of their honorable Employers) they fell together by they cares, and tumbled all their delicates under foot, to the prey and great derision of the common men.

After four or five weeks spent at *Mauritius*, our Commanders resolved to visit *Madagascar*, or *St. Lawrence*, in hope to meet there with the *English* Fleet bound that yeare for *India*, where our Vice-Admirall Captain *Swanly*, made a feast also, as formerly; and the same accident, upon the same occasion of my absence, wrought the same effects as at *Mauritius*. Here having abode some short time, with great pleasure and content, health, fertility and plenty of that place, we met, according to our longing desire, the *English* Fleet, consisting of four brave ships: That honest, judicious, generous Captain, *John Morton*, Commander of the *Mary*, the Admirall of the Fleet, and in her that chief Commander of all the *English* both at Sea and Land in the Orientall parts of the world, the approved, beloved, judicious, generous, affable Merchant, formerly President in *India*, the worshipfull *Thomas Rastell*, and many other Merchants in the Fleet, with commission to ship my adversaries, *Richard Wyld*, and *George Page* by name,

name, and all other of Councell (my selfe onely excepted to succeed him in Presidency in case of mortality home for *England*; which as it daunted my adversaries (though lessened by expectation) so it much exhilarated my spirits in so sad a condition, Mr. *Rastell*, Captain *Morton*, and all others, wondred to finde me in the Fleet, and understanding of my condition, a prisoner, much astonied them.

But having entred into examination of the cause, much con-
doled my insupportable wrongs and sufferings, insomuch that
it moved teares from that kind natured Gentleman Mr. *Rastell*.
Some few dayes being spent, a great feast was ordained aboard
the chief Admirall, the *Mary*, for the Commanders & Merchants
of both Fleets. And before that Feast, my malignant adversary,
Richard Wyldes, familiar with Mr. *Rastell*, at the intreaty of Sir
Moris Abbot himselfe made known unto me, made means to Mr.
Rastell to make reconcilment between us (if not punctuall and
perfect, yet at least formall for better accommodation to all par-
ties in the voyage, wishing he had given a thousand pound he
had never medled with me. Mr. *Rastell* made me acquaint-
ed with his desire, willing me to yeeld thereunto, which I did,
provided that he did first in person perform his part, as reason re-
quired, which at the feast he did, drinking unto me a full cup
of wine, acknowledging himselfe before all the company to
have done me wrong, and was sorry for it, but knew not now
how to help it. I accepted of his courtesie, and shortly after did
as much to him; and every day after our familiarity and out-
ward friendship encreased even to the last day of our parting after
at *St. Helena* our last port. Mr. *Rastell* after this having well con-
sidered of the businesse, and first freed me from imprisonment, offer-
red me to return me again into *India*, to be second unto him (for
which courtesie I returned him many thanks) but I told him my
mind, how that I was resolved now to go for *England*, & purge my
self from all crimes that could be alledged against me *viva voce*, &
to lay such things to my adversaries charge, as my duty & consci-
ence bound me, hoping to return again the next yeare with more
comfort & greater credit: To which resolution he seemed much

aggrieved, vowing and protesting again with teares in his eyes, that it was a great attractive to draw him again into *India*, considering to find me there an honest man, and of credit at home, to *comfort* and keep him company. But seeing it lost labour, he demanded of me what courtesie I desired at his hands, promising to perform it to the uttermost of his power. I then (first giving him thanks that he had set me at liberty from imprisonment) intrating him to give command for a good private Cabbin for me, and such comfortable refreshments of the company as the ship would afford, with the freedome or command of *Thomas Lea*, a common man, and a good penman, to attend upon me, to write such things as I conceived fit to expresse for feare of mortality in the long voyage yet to come. All which he yeeld unto, and gave commandment to the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of our Fleet, for the performance, and to estate me in the possession of the great Cabbin solely to my lodging, as at my coming out; which though it were irksome to Captain *Swan*'s at his going out, to yeeld me that preheminence above him, yet in the end was yeelded unto, onely desiring the enjoyment thereof for his reputation sake during a week or ten dayes longer (the time intended for both Fleets stay together in the Harbour of *Augustine Bay* in *Madagascar*.) But I knowing the ambitious spirits of Sea-commanders, lent my opinion, that he being gone, his words and commands by word of mouth would be accounted but wind, and therefore desired his warrant, or command under his hand-writing; to which he condescended, and went presently to his Closet to frame the warrant for my accommodation in all things before mentioned, and in especiall for the great Cabbin to my selfe, as at my coming out, adding, also thereto, that no act of consultation in Fleet should passe during the voyage, without my consent and approbation in chief. The *English* Fleet shortly after departed for *India*, yet before their departure Mr. *Rastell* commanded the foure Sea-commanders in his Fleet each to send me aboard the ship *Jonah*, a Barico of Sack about six or eight gallons apeece for my private expence and comfort in the voyage. About six or eight dayes after their departure, I demanded Captain *Swan*'s for my accommodation in possession of the great Cabbin, which

which he denied, slighting Mr. *Rastels* command as before fore-
 imagined; upon which some distast befell, and cross words
 found vent: And the Captain taking in ill part my forcible de-
 mands, made complaint to the Admirall, Captain *Weddall*, who
 stuck hard to his Vice-Admirall, and in conclusion, called a con-
 sultation aboard the *Jonah*, to question me about words that I had
 spoken, but misconstrued by C. *Swanly*. At which consultation I
 made demand again to the Admirall to fulfill Mr. *Rastels* com-
 mand, as he promised faithfully to perform: But the same was
 slighted by him, as before by the Vice-Admiral. And then finding
 it fit time, I took out of my pocket my Warrant, willing him to
 peruse that; which having performed, their stomacks were abated,
 the Warrant being strengthened with words of vehemency,
 and authority from his Majesty King *Charles*, substituting him
 chiefe Commander of all the *Englisk* both at Sea and Land in the
 Oriental parts of the world. Then they both began to perswade
 and intreat me, to let the Vice-Admirall, and Mr. *Greg. Clement*,
 Cape Merchant, to enjoy the great Cabbin still, being in possession,
 and I should have the round house solely to my selfe. To
 which I yeilded for quietnesse and unity sake, and ever after lived
 peaceably, contentedly, and friendly together, the Captain
 denying me nothing; yea, tending me more courtesie then I
 desired, or would accept of.

After three moneths or more abode at *Madagascar*, we set sail
 to visit Cape *Bona Esperanza*; where arriving the Salvages brought
 us foure Cowes, and some other small refreshments, which they
 sold us for Iron hoopcs, and peeces of brasse, and made shew to
 bring us more speedily. But the next day two Dutch ships com-
 ming out of *Holland*, laden with Souldiers for the Southern parts
 of *India*, the Soldanians, or Upland men never came more at us;
 yet we had the daily company of a few poore Sea borderers, that
 hung about us for reliefe, such as we cast away, who feed also up-
 on Whale, or other dead fish, lying long, and stinking on shore.
 Having spent above three weeks time in expectation of refreshment
 from the Natives, and seeing none came, we resolved to set
 sail to Saint *Helena* in our way homeward: where arriving, and
 at our first landing, we under-went much hazard by reason of the
 violence

violence of surging waves neere shore, and in the landing we lost two Boats, and divers men, yet some men got ashore, not without great hazard, and divers returned back to the ships, not daring to adventure, as my two adversaries in chief.

Those of note that got first ashore, were Captain *Weddall*, Captain *Swanly*, Mr. *Greg. Clement*, and my selfe: for my own part, I found great cause to give God thanks for two great deliverances, the one in landing, the other in getting a ship-board again. The first that led the way, was Captain *Weddall*, who leaping out of the Boat so soon as the rising waves brought the Boat to the height on shore, and falling off again, by speedy haste, got on firm ground, and yet not very dry: And after him followed Captain *Swanly* and Mr. *Clement*, in more danger, the rage of the waters more and more increasing, and I my selfe very timorous to adventure. But two lusty strong Sailers, (to whom, as to all the ships company, I was much indebted for their loving respects, though I was not able to requite their courtesies (especially in great dread by a leak ship, the Sailers though they threatned to make the Captain and Merchants to take their turns at the Pump, yet would free] me, many offering to supply my turn at the Pump as long as life or strength lasted in them) gave me great encouragement, adventuring themselves into the sea some depth to catch me leaping out of the Boat, & each taking me by the hand, we all run violently together to get out of the fury of the returning waves, and so by Gods blessing, though washed up above the middle, got safe on firm ground; where we presently saw spectacles of great grief, two Boats with many men in them overturned with the violence of the waves, & the men lost with the Boats, and two who striving as we had done, to get ashore, were washed off into the Sea, and by Gods great mercy cast ashore again by another great raging wave, and left upon the sands; which the Mariners ashore perceiving, ran speedily unto them; catching them by the legges or armes, or any part of them, and so ere the surging flood returned, drew them out of the force of the raging waves, where they lay as dead men; but it pleased God that by the pains of the Sailers, and strong waters, that some had about them, they in the end recovered: the one was a Salvadge, or native

tive of *Madagascar*, an ancient man, who with his sonne, were desirous to saile along to visit *England*; and the other was a very honest man, of good worth and credit, by name Mr. *John Hamerton*, yet living, and keeping a Cooks shop, and victualling-house at *Pye-Corner*, neer *Smithfield*. Here about fourty or fifty being gotten ashore, were put to our shifts for three dayes and three nights, to get meat, for none could be landed for us from the ships, for which the Sailers took marvellous great pains to catch lean Hogges, and Goats, with the help of one or two *Persia* Greyhounds, brought whelps from thence, wherof one was mine, did stand us in great stead; but the men wanting shooes, were so galled with running upon rocks, that many were very lame. And so with such poore provision, wanting bread (yet not fresh water) we spent that time, untill in the end newes was brought us, that some more men were got ashore, and had more safe landing, which we taking good notice of, made haste out of the Island, to endeavour to get again on ship-board. But coming to take Boat, we found the danger as great, or greater, then in the landing; and the chiefe means we had to get to our Boats, was by the help of a high steep rock, bending hollow into the Sea, to get into the top, of which one at a time was to take the opportunity of the fall of the Sea between the rock and the shore; and so in that *interim*, to get upon the top of the rock, whither our foresaid Captains, Mr. *Clement* and my selfe happily attained: but another young man, not making so much haste or speed, was washed away ere he could attain the rock, and never seen after: we sate a good while in great danger upon the rock, the waves arising often to the very top) consulting how to get into the Boat. And Mr. *Elmer*, the Master under Captain *Weddall*, advised the Captain to take the opportunity of the Boats rising with the water, to leap into the Boat. But the Captain held that way dangerous, for fear lest the Boat should hit against the rock, and so split, and so cast away all the men in her also: and therefore he skipping himselfe into his linnen breeches, and getting hold of the end of a long line from the Boat, made it fast under his armes, the men in the Boat holding one end of the line, and we upon the rocks the other end, and so leaping into the Sea, got safely into the Boat,

Boat, whom the Master wisely advised to be carried off into another Boat out from the raging of the waves, neer shore, whilst he endeavoured to fetch off the rest. Which done, Captain *Swanly* approved of the Masters way: and so at the rising of the Boat with the wave, to the top of the rock, leapt into the Boat (prudently kept off from striking against the rock) and so escaped into the other Boat. And Mr. *Clement* took the next turn, and likewise got well off: my turn coming, the Master and Sailers encouraged me to the same way, promising to stand ready to catch me with all the help; so also I adventured, & by their great assistance, to whom I acknowledge much thankfulnesse, not forgetting Gods great mercy, I also got safe into the other Boat, and at last into the ship *Jonah*. But I was no sooner off, but Mr. *Clements* Blackamore of *India*, having gotten upon the rock, was by the violence of a great wave over-topping the rock, washed into the Sea; but he skilfull in swimming, was also by the industry of the Mariners, saved. And thus, God be praised, we and many others got safe aboard again: but the next day, or one or two dayes after, the raging of the waves, occasioned either by wind or tide, or both, we had good passage to and again from ships to shore, for a moneths time refreshing our selves in the uninhabited Island, with Hogges, Goats, and Fish. The relation whereof I have been the more prolix, willing to give admonition to others that shall come after, to be cautious if they find their landing dangerous, in which Island I wish my Countrey-men had a plantation, and my selfe among them in so pleasant, healthfull, fruitfull, and commodious a place for trading with all Nations at their return out of *India*, and so invincible and impregnable, being once (though but easily fortified) that one hundred men may easily oppose and defend themselves against one hundred thousand, and a matter of no great charge, that I am perswaded some one mans estate in *England* is able to perfect that businesse; to whose endeavours, if at any time attempted, I wish all prosperous and happy successe. So here, after a merry Christmas kept, with such homely fare as the place would afford, (it being our last place of Rendezvous in this long voyage, we took our leave one of another in both ships, untill it should please God to send us safe

safe arrivall at our desired port, our own happy native Countrey of *England*. Thus it pleased God to send us all safe arrivall together in one Fleet into *England*, where finding my chiefe adversary *Richard Wylde* (the usurped President) had potent friends in Court, (the unjust Governour *Sir Morris Abbot*, *Sir Henry Garraway*, as *Mr. Rastell* before had given me notice of) I yet presented my selfe to the present Governour, *Sir Morris Abbot* in privat, before I tendred my presence in Court, submitting the redresse of my wrongs in any reasonable manner, at the feet of his pious devotion: But the best respects I could get from him, was sharp checks before my cause was made known, with an admonition to be cautious what accusations I laid against *Richard Wylde*, for that (as he told me) he was and would be his friend. Yet hoping of better welcome from the Court-Committees, and tendering unto them a declaration of my wrongs; the Court courteously condoled my sufferings, promised that reall restitution should be made by my adversaries, and that they would think upon it to give me a large gratification for my good services, with tender of second employment into *India*, upon better termes then before, if I would accept of it, desiring me therewith to rest satisfied untill time would better permit them to give me due right for my injurious sufferings. Time spun out three moneths before this businessse came to be decided: At which time my cause was turned topsie-turvy, and that by report, (which untill a yeare after I understood not) that *Sir Morris Abbot* had received a gratification from my adversaries, of a Porters burthen of silver plate, as two witnesses yet living, offered me to verifie: which is very probable, yet I had at that time, a better opinion of *Sir Morris Abbot*, then to be bribed, though I knew my adversary was 'a right Matchivil in such designes, having (by report) flung away at his departure out of *India*, 1500. l. in that kind, to get a good report of all of severall conditions, as *English*, *Dutch*, *Moore*s, and *Banjans*, &c. the meanest of the Companies Scrivans receiving bribing gratification of ten pound; and no small bribery given to Sea Commanders and Officers, both to cloak his privat trade, and extoll his vertue and magnificency; in all which notwithstanding he failed. At which time *Sir Morris Abbot* past his vote, that it was

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not for the accommodation of the honorable companies action of commerce, to wave or question the Presidents power & authority, but rather to support & maintain it, which they would do. Also, Sir *Henry Garraway* voted, that it was not for the honour of the *East India* Court, to be curious inquisitors into their Presidents actions. The votes of these potent persons in Court, stonied the indifferent and uncharitable part of time-serving Committees, who were loath to crosse them, (as some of Court in privat confessed unto me) lest they should crosse them again in other matters aimed at for their own ends, and for that my adversaries had accrewed great estates of ill gotten goods, amounting to twenty or thirty thousand pounds a man in five years, out of nothing, of which the King was defrauded of his due customes, which he ought not lose, though I out of desire and hope of friendly reconciliation, and to avoid the opprobrious imputation of a malicious Revenger, purposely omitted timely information to possesse my self of halfe their estates, forfeited by the defraudments. Many Committees gaped after them to match them, being Batchelors (though of foule infected bodies, or of one at least) with their daughters in marriage. The Courts censure and decree, though I petitioned to haue it in writing, I was denied for seven moneths time, untill I had made them ashamed of so unjust an action: At which time it was penned with all the Matchivill wit that such ingratefull and unjust malevolent persons could devise, because I would not applaud their former open censures in my audience; and therein not onely deprived me of satisfaction for my wrongs of no small import, but also robbed me of great part of my covenanted sallery, and other just debts due unto me, to the value of one thousand pounds, besides the losse of ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds, or more (unvaluable) by unjust dismissal from my beneficiall employment, because their wicked President, a servant in no higher eminence then my self, except in a double voyce, had maliciously suspendedie, which for matters to rectifie servants abuses, (though they could alledge no cause to confirm the suspension) was to contradiet the lawes of the *Medes* and *Persians*, never to be revoked. And for the same cause, because I taxed their injurious censure, they again took from

me two hundred pound, confirmed before upon me by full decree of Court in recompence of good service done them. Thus being much perplexed in minde, and having some estate in their servants hands in *India*, which I had given order to be paid into the Presidents hands, to cleare accounts, which my revengefull adversary had unjustly ingaged me thereinto; which accounts were not cleared untill four or five yeares after, in regard those their servants, my factors, finding me in disfavour with the Court at home, made use of my means, and at length died before the accounts were cleared, to my great wrong and detriment: I complied yet fairly with them in the mean time, petitioning them still (for want of means to wage law with such potent adversaries, who boasted that they would be too mighty for me) one, two, or three times a yeare, to reverse their uncharitable censure, and to pay me my due from themselves, and to cause restitution from my adversaries, as they had formerly promised to me, and done to a farre inferiour man then my selfe, wronged by a Sea Captain, as mighty in Commission as their President, whom they forced to pay the Merchant (a Runnegado Jesuit fled out of *Spain*, crept into the *India* ships, & made a Cockswain, a Polipragmon, and busie fellow, by which meanes he attained to that preferment) 200. l. for smaller wrongs done unto him; which they excused, they had now no means of my adversaries in their possession, to force him thereunto, though formerly they were possessed with great part of their estate, and having fined *Richard Wylde* at 2500 l. for misdemeanors (too little by 20000. l.) yet by the Governour, and Sir *Henry Garrawayes* meanes, got it all remitted: So the wicked were justified, and the innocent condemned, both which are an abomination to the Lord. And in this *interim* being drawn or perswaded by divers in Committee, and some of their chiefe Officers, that if I would tender my service again to the Court, it would be well accepted, and I recompenced to my content in another kind. But having before made a privat Protest against Sir *Morris Abbot* for his unjust procceeds, I much doubted to obtain my suit: yet importuned thereunto, I did at length tender my service by humble petition, (not usuall for men of my quality,) and thereupon, as a Committee himself told me, the whole

Court stood for me, applauding my honesty and ability to doe them service. But they all, or most part, having passed their votes for me, except the Governour Sir *Morris Abbott*, who by his inveterate malice overturned all among time-serving Committees, First confessing with them, that in his conscience he took me to be an honest man, and for my ability he could not except against it; yet if the Court would be advised by him, his opinion was, I was not a fit man to serve them, expressing his reason, that I was a distracted man. Indeed *Solomon* sayes, that *oppression will make a wise man mad*; but God be praised for his abundant mercie, that hath preserved me in my right senses, notwithstanding the wicked endeavours of a bribed, oppressing, malicious Governour. Behold the wisdom of the worldly wise in this matter, and in the former: for my salary and gratification, if I were a bad servant, how could I deserve a large gratification for good service? And if I were a good servant, why should I lose my covenanted salary? But being a good servant, as approved, and a gratification 200. l. given me, therefore by full vote of Court, as also expressed in a Copie of Decree of the said Court, given me seven moneths after, why was I then surreptuously robbed and dispoyled thereof? So also, if I were an honest and able man to undergoe the Companies employment, how was I distracted? And if I were distracted, where was my honesty and ability?

Thus wisdom at such wisdom doth but scoff,

When men do ill that good may come thereof.

Thus it is apparent, the slanders of a malicious corrupt insolvent Governour (hatefull at present to be acknowledged for good) who made no conscience of his actions, even to defraud and cheat Widdowes and Orphans of their estates, as some of my own neere kindred have felt in great measure to their grief and hinderance in preferment. The accounts at last, to my great losse, were cleared at *India*, though not at home, and I again for quietnesse and necessities sake, petitioned the Court for their favours, to grant me convenient passage in the Companies ships, to seek my fortune again in another world, and in an old age for valuable consideration, with promise to do the Company what accommodable service lay in my power, though I did not ear
their

their bread, nor drink their water; but that also was denied me, for feare belike that I should descry some of their juggling in privat trade with servants, or should shame them in their injudicious managing that famous action of commerce by my privat poor flock in a despicable way that they looked not after, nor regatded. And yet they granted the same freely and *gratis* to aliens and stranges of other nations, Popish in religion, and enemies to the honourable action of Commerce. And what was this then but to take the childrens bread, and to cast it to Dogs, and to deny the poore decrepit *Lazarus* the crums that fell from their superfluous Tables, or with the envious Dog in the manger, neither to eat hay himself, nor suffer the hungry Ox to eat it? And if this be justice, charity, and gratitude of the *India* Court Committees, which they boast of, and would have all the world to believe their abundant indulgence to deserving servants, let wise men judge: for I am at a *non-plus*, and must needs conclude with the sentence of Scripture, *The mercies of the wicked are cruell.*

Thus seeing my selfe so unconscionably handled, and disfranchised of all freedom or comfort in that Company, of whom I had well deserved even by their own approbation; denying me also, though disfranchised, to repay me 50. pound, paid almost thirty yeares before for that freedom, I was advised by my own thoughts and friends counsell to petition to his Majesty for a reference of my cause to indifferent men; which by his Majesty was most graciously granted me, referring it to 3. good men on my side, and to as many on the Courts side, to make conscionable end to my content, or to make report unto his Majesty. The three good men for me were, the right worshipful Sir *Henry Row*, Knight, and the worshipfull *George Clark*, now Knight, and *Rob. Grimes* Esquire. And the Court with much ado elected in the end, the right worshipfull Sir *Job Harvy*, Knight, and the worshipfull *Thomas Keightly*, and *Daniel Harper*, Esquires, all bred Merchants on both sides. The affronts and contempts to his Majesties command, and to all the Referrees, were to large to recite: who having spent a whole yeare and more upon many summons, never met a full Committee of their side, above three times, and at those times nothing done but wrangling made by three Committees

out of Court, and three or four officers to oppose me alone before the Referrees, and that because the Referrees would not account their orders of Court penned in large volumes, to be as authentick Records, or as Acts of Parliament. And so nothing at all being done, I intreated all the Referrees to make report to his Majesty, which they all seemed willing to perform, but condoling my infortunate and hard measure, lent me their good counsell, alledging it would not onely be a chargeable and irksome busines to me to goe in winter time to the King as farre as *Scotland*, but also perhaps distastive to his Majesty to be troubled in midtt of his important affairs with his Army, in or neer the borders of *Scotland*, & to commence suit in Law, were to sling away more money. For the Court being of more credit either at the Councell Table, or in any judicious Court in *England*, would be more potent against me, and that out of a generall stock, or purse, then I should be, though I had the best of their estates. And withall told me, that the Court had made an offer to them to give me two hundred marks (a poore summe in regard of my due debts and wrongs) So that I would give the whole Court, and every particular man, a generall release, yet leaving me to take my course in law against my revengefull *India* adversaries, provided that all the Referrees should set to their hands as witnesses to the release. To the which in the end, by their perswasions, and my own extream necessitated case to preserve my credit (yet never justly stained, and to relieve my ruined family, consisting of my selfe, wife, and five children, all young and unprovided for, I enforced, (as upon oath I am ready to averre) yeelded unto: which done, the Court yet again considered with themselves, that all things was not agreeable to their second thoughts, and therefore contrary to their propopositions to the Referrees, would have releases granted to my *India* adversaries also, or else would pay me no money: which though I was resolutely bent not to doe, yet necessity having no law, I was in the end compelled to perform, (being somewhat more perswaded by the friendly information of Sir *Henry Garraway*, who though he confessed himselfe to have opposed me formerly in Court, yet now he was my best friend there, promising to do me any future courtesies that lay in his power;

power; and withall freely imparting unto me the Courts accusing consciences, that if I did proceed in law against my *India* adversaries, that all the asperſion of thoſe ſoule proceeds, would reflect upon the Court; and therefore they would make all ſure. The Courts Attorney then framed a large authentick releaſe, and withall put in a Claufe, that at the inſtance and requeſt of the Referrees, the Court had yeelded to give me two hundred marks. Which releaſe being brought to Sir *Henry Rone*, (in his preſence for me to ſet my hand and ſeale) to be a witneſſe, he right nobly, as became his vertue and goodneſſe, ſubſcribed thus, or to this ſence, I do teſtifie as a witneſſe to this releaſe, the ſealing and delivery thereof: But that I had any hand to ſollicit the *India* Court in *Boothbyes* behalfe, I utterly deny. This done, the other Referrees denied to ſubſcribe in any other ſenſe, which did ſo blurre the Governour and Court with ſhame, that they cauſed their Attorney to draw a new releaſe, leaving out forenamed claufe) and taking ſuch other hands as he could get beſides his own for witneſſe. All things now effected to their bad deſires, I thought all malice and revenge had been clean wiped out; and therefore renewed a former petition for readmittance into the Companies ſervice, or for paſſage in their ſhips into *India* upon my own adventure, but could prevaile nothing to the charitable relief of me and mine. And not long after, that corrupt inſolvent Governour, Sir *Morris Abbot*, died; for whoſe ſoul, were it lawfull and effectfull to pray, I would yet lend my earneſt devotions to God for mercy in his behalfe. And a little before his death it pleaſed God to grant a Parliament in England, and then it grieved me to heart to have given ſo effectfull a releaſe; yet perſwaded by learned counſel, that the Parliament in a juſt cauſe would wave an inforced releaſe, I framed a petition by advice of the ſaid learned counſell, to the Parliament, which was preferred by a friend to Mr. *Brown*, Clerk to the Houſe of Peeres; in whoſe hands, if not caſt aſide, it yet lies, in regard of an Ordinance of Parliament to deferre private mens petitions for a while, to give way to important affaires of State, as reaſon required. And ſo all hope of releaſe that way, were all at a ſtand, I reſolved to go to *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, to endeavour to get a paſſage in

reliefe.

1675.

in their *Dutch* ships into *India*: And to that purpose about *Michaelsmas*, 1640. I wrot to two of my ancient loving friends, the Worshipfull *William Cranmer*, Deputy Governour to the Merchant Adventurers of *England*, and to Mr. *John Strange* a worthy Citizen of *London*, both resident at *Roterdam*, to intreat their furtherance to assist me in that voyage for convenient passage: and from both received right courteous reply for their good assistance, and convenient entertainment during mine abode there. But presently after it pleased God to hinder that intent, by imposing upon me a long and tedious disease, a *Flux*, for three full yeares compleat. And during that time (though I were not able to stirre much abroad, yet) I bethought my selfe how to provoke the *India* Court to commence suit in Law against me, hoping by that course to obtain fauour to defend my cause in *Forma Pauperis* (which I might rightly claim) and that was by publishing a Protest against the Governour and whole Court, which having formerly acted in private to themselves, for which they threatened me with severe punishment in the Court of Honour, but recanted. I deemed that making it publick, it would certainly stir them up to that suit: So though unacquainted with the manner of such proceeds, I rudely and ignorantly penned such a Protest as my weak judgement did apprehend, which I caused to be fixed upon the gate of the East *India* House, and upon Sir *Morris Abbots* gate, and upon four chiefe Pillars on the Exchange. But they had not hung long, but were presently snatcht off: and from that day to this, I never felt the smart of their second more cruell oppressing threats; so that no act that I could do, would provoke them to lay open their own shamefull proceeds, and my weak purse living upon a small rackt Countrey Farme, chiefly supported by indulgent friends, would not afford means to right my selfe: My sicknesse thus continuing three yeares, it pleased God (contrary to all rules of Physick, and multitudes of medicines, following my own appetite and fancy) to stop my *Flux*, though it had brought me low and weak in body; yet finding my selfe able to creep a little abroad, (though with much pain, with two short staves to lean upon, I took a Chamber in *London* for the Winter time, for sundry reasons and occasions. And one day making

making shift with many relings, to creep to the Exchange, I met there with my ancient acquaintance and friend Mr. *William Mebold*, lately returned from being *President* in *India* (a place assigned for me, if malice had not prevented) and at present Deputy Governour of the *India* Corporation; who by being in *India*, was better acquainted with my wrongs, as his letters out of *India*, and his speeches since at home, condoling my wrongs suffered under the tyranny of a *President* (a man of matchlesse malice) do import, whose advice and counsell I intreated, seeing the old Governor Sir *Morris Abbot* was dead, and Sir *Henry Garraway* turned out of that place, and a new Governour Mr. *William Cockbaine*, and many new Committees chosen, whether he did suppose, that if I renewed my former petitions for passage into *India*, I should obtain my desire: His answer was, he deemed my Petition would be granted; and that the voyage into those hot Countries would in great probability speedily recover my limbs again; yet willed me to forbear untill he had felt and dived into the affection of the Governour. And whilst we were thus in discourse, Mr. Governour came to him, and called him away from me (upon some occasion of business:) So that conference breaking off, I repaired within few dayes after, to his house, to know the issue; where he told me he had conference with the Governour concerning my purpose, and found him an indifferent man, and so willed me to proceed, promising his faithfull assistance. Accordingly I framed a Petition, and in regard of my weaknesse, feed a Solicitor to exhibite the same, and to attend the Courts response; which finding dilatory, I seconded the same with a submissive Epistle, intreating reply to both; but though he attended about five moneths, every Court day, & other dayes in the interims; yet could never get answer to either. What to think of the Governour *Cockbaine* I know not in regard of his former voting in Court, before he was Governour (in my cause) that I had undergone both in *India* and at home, *summum jus*, which is a riddle to me (though at first I conceived it to be spoken in my favour) because though urged both in privat and publick, he never pleased to interpret his meaning, and

I should be glad for the good opinion that I ever had of him; that his good interpretation would cleare him from reproofe; of which I much doubt; for being taken in my favour or disfavour spoken, the sequell as I conceive and think, I shall be able to manifest, that his sentence was neer a kin to *Pilatus*, or *Balaams*; yet I will use *Balaams* prayer for him, That he may die the death of the righteous, and his end be like his. And because there hath been foure Governours of the *India* Courts, since these my troubles, whereof two, (*Sir Morris Abbot*, and *Sir Henry Garraway*) I have manifested in this fore-mentioned Treaty, their partiality, injustice, and corruption; and at present Mr. *William Cockhaines* deep Machivill equivocation, to shift or wind himselfe (Serpent-like) to either side which way soever for his advantage. I conceive it requisite to say somewhat touching *Sir Christopher Cletheram*, (almost forgotten) who though both in the judgement of the world, and in my own charitable opinion of him, esteemed honest and vertuous: And never that I could learn (by the best inquiry that I could make) that he ever opened his mouth in Court against me, during the time of his Governours or Deputy Governours place for many yeares, yet tacitous in defence of the cause of innocency, is not to be excused: For he knew that I was privie to the passages between him and his sonne in *India*; whose sonne at his departure from *India*, left Commission with me, to take up & open his fathers letters: whereby I could justly have charged him with such crime as the other corrupt Governours unjustly charged upon me; which peradventure was the cause he never opposed me: yet to doe me justice (that pleased him not,) both because he would not crosse the former Governor's actions, nor lose (by their means) the Courts favours, so commodious unto him both by allowance of two hundred pounds *per annum*, rent for part of his house to keep Courts in, and also five hundred pounds *per annum* salary, for his pains in place of Governour, to attend foure, five, or six houres in a week, upon those affairs, (a faire and large recompence for a triviall pains or service. So that in this case I may well compare him to *Felix*, the Governour

nour of *Judea*, who being to leave his government to *Portius Fes-
sus*, and having *Paul* a prisoner, committed by the *Jewes*, and
knowing in his conscience no cause in *Paul* worthy of death, or of
bonds, yet to curry favour, and to please the *Jewes*, left *Paul*
bound a prisoner; and whether for this sin or others, it pleased
God to cast judgements upon him by the dismall untimely deaths
of his two eldest sons, I leave it to the opinion of others lesse
partiall, desiring not to be accounted uncharitably censorious.

Thus with more perplexity then I conceived, or intended, I *prolixit*
have according to my weak capacity, set down truly, and as
briefe as I could, the summe of those passages which I intended to
have enlarged into every particular, to which end I began the
same the last Spring, as my weak body would permit me ability,
(but finding the same intermixed with severall accidents in my
voyage to and from *India*, with description of many Countries,
wherein we had aboard, I found it would arise to too great a vo-
lume for my weak purse to publish in print, and perhaps not
acceptable though bestowed gratis, especially if thereto added
the particular Articles against me, and my Response thereunto;
the sundry Protests made in *India*, at *St. Helena*, and in *England*,
for the unjust proceeds against me, with *Mr. Rafels* Warrant for
my release of imprisonment, &c. And the *India* Courts malign-
ant censure, seven moneths in composing, to fit the same to daub
over their seared accusing consciences. The defence for privat
trade for all the Companies servants, with the Courts indirect
juggling in the covenant and accord with their servants, which
they are forced to confesse they must of necessity connive at, or
else shall have no servants to agitate their affaires: And yet ho-
nest men, that either want means to bribe, or friends to stand by
them, shall not escape their severity. The great danger and mor-
tality of his Majesties subjects in those adventurous employ-
ments, (the good deserving, great indulgence and respect) the
Variety of Presidents and Councils, &c. their juggling and de-
fraudments. The excessive lavish expence in house-keeping at
Surrat, and aboard their shipping. The advice given to reform
the abuses of lewd and tyrannical Governours. Increase of their

trade to 40000 l. *per annum* profit, or much more with the violation of their defraudments and neglects past, and likely to ensue to many hundred thousand pounds dammage. Also the Courts contempt of my faire proceedings (according to their own Ordinance and Injunction) for raising benevolences to the furtherance of the Hospitall at *Black-wall*, with the forwardnesse of my loyall serviceable endeavours, (according to command) which had it not been rejected, but seconded, would ere this dey, have brought in money to have purchased many hundred pounds, if not thousands *per annum*, to that charitable work. And lastly, expressed (which perhaps not unfit to be taken notice thereof) of Gods judgements upon all those in *India* not one exempted, that voted (though for feare by their own confessions) against me. And also the judgements of God, or disgraces to them or their posterity, of all in their *India* Courts known to have voted or banded themselves against me (one only excepted, and yet living, which for reasons of State I omit to nominate) with the credit and blessings of God on those (but three in the number of thirteen or fourteen) which did their endeavours, as much as in them lay, or they durst (for feare of a Tyrants mischief to themselves) to cleare me from crime or aspersion, all which now after fifteen yeares, are yet living, and in reputation. And hearing the report of some ships of Mr. *Curteens*, that were then laden with passengers for a plantation at *Madagascar*, and that Mr. *Walter Hamond* (my acquaintance, an honest intelligent man) had written a book for encouragement to that weighty designe (though I had not seen that book) I altered my designe, and took upon me to write my opinion thereof, (affecting rather a common good, then my own privat and particular) which if not authorized to the Presse, I suppose will be in good time, which I desire and hope, will find good acceptance, though weakly yet truly performed.

Now a word or two touching my infortunity by the Governors of two *Cockhaines* in severall Companies: By the government of Sir *William* over the new Merchant Adventurers, I received the originall of my downfall by his evill project, which though last-
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ing not full two yeares, brought some hundred thousand pounds damage to this Common-wealth, as may easily be manifested, and by the hinderance of good under the government of Mr. *William Cockhaine* in the *East India* Company, I received my finall ruine and downfall: so that their names and governments have been fatall, ominous and disastrous to me and all mine. That Mr. *Cockhaine* hath been a hinderance of good to this Common-wealth, I will onely instance in my own case; Had he been a well-willer to Justice or Charity, my true intended loyall service might have done ere this day, much good to this Kingdome, and the Honorable Corporation, as their own acknowledgements of *India* Court, and gratification of good service manifested; yea, as some of the most Judicious amongst them have acknowledged, that I did the Company better service in one halfe yeare being in *India* free from fetters and imprisonment, then all their servants did before in thirty yeares space. And that my zealous intent was now, and upon my last and other Petitions, to do good, thus I manifest it. I intended, though weak in body, and aged threescore yeares, to hazard my life for my King and Countries good, and to have taken with me two sonnes, one of two and twenty years of age, (fit for imployment by my instructions) and the other of twelve years of age, capable to be brought up in language, and other endowments fit for a Merchant (or perhaps a Statesman in in some mean degree, or an Intelligencer, or an Interpreter of *Persia*, *Jwa*, and other Languages by long continuance intended,) I resolved also to enter into a Trade that the Company rejecteth, and regardeth not, and to discover more then yet by any one man hath been done, or like to be in long time, I would not have transported any gold or silver, as they as ill commonwealths men do, I would not have kept any thing privat to my selfe, that I should have discovered beneficiall to a generall good, but have revealed it to the Honorable Company whereof I was a member, though I received no accommodation of good, but evill by them. And I intended to be a true assitant to my power (and credit, which I hope should not have been inferior to any, as it was not at my former being there) for the good of the
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Plantation at Madagascar, if it went on, to do them 'all diligent and faithfull service; and as God blessed me with means, by employing the greatest part in that worthy right honorable action, something to the gratification of friends for courtesies received, some comfort to the preferment of a wife and three daughters left at home; and some to the comfort of Gods poor elect in my own Countrey. If Mr. *William Cockbaines* refusall to give reisonse to my Petition, was not hinderer of these good designes, indifferent men may censure. Then sure, as a learned Divine of our times, Mr. *Carrile*, hath put it out in Print, by order of Parliament, That the Projectors of evill, and hinderers of good, are both conformable to the Devill, then is he in danger of such censure. And the Heathen by the light of nature could say, that *Agentes & consentientes pari pena puniendi*, and so deserves futable punishment. And in my weake judgement it were not amisse, if such good Law were inacted in this Kingdome, as by report sat Mr. *Symmonds*, Merchant, being called to Councell Table, to know his opinion among others, touching Sir *William Cockbaines* project, made reply (not spending his judgement) that the Law of the *Lacedemonians* was good, That every Projector of new businesse in a Common-wealth, ought to present his project with a halter about his neck, that if his project proved ill to the Common-wealth, he should suffer a due desert.

And thus I abruptly end this Remonstrance or Declaration of the intollerable wrong done to me & mine, and perhaps in us, to the prejudice of this Common-wealth; which my malignant adversaries, or partial time-serving unjust *India* Court-Committees, are and will be ashamed to verifie in any judicious Court of Justice against me; but being put to triall, or examination, will either plead their ignorance, or deny they ever voted against me. But such men ought to know, that he that sitteth an assitant in Court of Justice, and for by respects pleadeth not in the defence of the innocent, supposing himselfe cleare of asperision from God and Man, if he sit still, and say nothing either in defence or offense to the innocent, let such men, I say, know (that if our modern Divines preach not false Doctrine) that they, or he, whatsoever,

soever," (by his taciturnesse, is as guilty as the unjust Judge that pronounceth wicked Sentence against him. Concerning which (I humbly desire vertuous, prudent, judicious men, to consider the matters, and to give their righteous judgement.

Right Honorable,

I Have discours't to your just hearing eares,
My wofull plight, and dolefull Tragedy,
With mournfull Accents, Accents causing teares,
Sad teares attending matchlesse misery.

Your pitties eares therefore (just Lords) affoord
To these most pensive and most just Complaints:
Let mercies eyes with pitties eares accord,
To cheare the spirit that with grieving faints:
In hope whereof my soule shall rest in peace,
Till you vouchsafe to send her full release.

P S A L. 86. 14, 15, 16, 17.

O God, the proud are risen up against me, and the congregations of naughty men, have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes.
But thou (O Lord God) art full of compassion and mercy, long suffering, and plenteous in goodnesse and truth.
O turn thee unto me, and have mercy upon me: give thy strength unto thy servant, and help the son of thy handmaid.
Shew some good token upon me for good, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed, because thou, Lord, hast holpen me, and comforted me.

F I N I S.

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